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ABSTRACT

Studies on the portrayal of minorities, older persons, and females in elementary and secondary school textbooks used in the 1970s are reviewed in this publication. The studies are divided into the following categories: American Indians, blacks, Hispanics, Asian and Pacific Island Americans, religious groups, older persons, and females. In the latter section (females), reading textbooks, mathematics textbooks, science textbooks, and foreign language textbooks are discussed separately. Also included in this publication is a review of the literature on effects of textbooks on children's attitudes, personality development, academic achievement, and career aspirations and attainment. (GC)

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CHARACTERS IN TEXTBOOKS

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION..... 1
2. PORTRAYAL OF MINORITIES, OLDER PERSONS, AND FEMALES..... 5
   - Indians
   - Blacks
   - Hispanics
   - Asian and Pacific Island Americans
   - Religious Groups
   - Older Persons
   - Females
     - Reading Textbooks
     - Mathematics Textbooks
     - Science Textbooks
     - Foreign Language Textbooks
   - Summary
3. THE EFFECTS OF TEXTBOOKS ON STUDENTS..... 13
   - Attitudes
   - Personality Development and Behavior
   - Academic Achievement
   - Career Aspirations and Attainment
   - Summary

Chapter 1

Introduction

The treatment of minorities and women in elementary and secondary school textbooks has long been an issue of concern to groups representing minorities and females, because they believe that textbooks used in schools throughout the Nation do not accurately and fairly portray the diversity of the American population.[1] An early statement of the problem came in a 1939 pamphlet of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) entitled *Anti-Negro Propaganda in School Textbooks*.[2]

It was not until 10 years later, however, that the American Council on Education published the first comprehensive study of the treatment of minorities in textbooks. The council found the portrayal of minorities "distressingly inadequate, inappropriate and even damaging to intergroup relations."[3] According to this report, textbooks generally ignored the position of minorities in contemporary American life, both in the written text and the illustrations.[4] This report also concluded that when the history of minorities was discussed, it was often from a distorted and disparaging perspective. American Indians were depicted as cruel or noble, but were almost never shown in a contemporary context.[5] Blacks, too, were almost never mentioned as part of contemporary America, but only in the context of slavery and reconstruction.[6]

In 1960 Lloyd Marcus did a similar study of the portrayal of blacks, Asian and Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, and Jews to see if progress had been made in the treatment of these minorities in the most widely used social studies textbooks.[7] (This study did not discuss other religious groups, American Indians, or females.) His findings led to the conclusion that textbook portrayals were still marked by deletions, distortions, and misleading stereotypes.[8]

To illustrate, Marcus found that Asian and Pacific Island Americans were frequently presented as racially inferior. Hispanics were almost totally neglected in the textbooks, and when they were mentioned it was often as immigrants.[9] Material about Jews gave the impression that they had contributed little to modern society.[10]

The first study of the portrayal of females in textbooks was done in 1946 by Irvin Child, Elmer Potter, and Estelle Levine,[11] who sampled 914 stories in 30 different reading textbooks published between 1930 and 1946. They found that females constituted 27 percent of all central characters,[12] and they found examples of stereotyping as well. Girls and women were shown more frequently than boys

[1] For an extensive list of organizations that have demonstrated their concern about textbook biases see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Fair Textbooks: A Resource Guide* (1979), sec. 13. The resource guide also contains information on statements, reports, newsletters, or articles by such groups, expressing concern about portrayals in textbooks.

[2] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), *Anti-Negro Propaganda in School Textbooks* (1939).

[3] Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations, *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1947); cited in Michael B. Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks: A Study of Their Treatment in Social Studies Texts* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1970), p. 1.

[4] *Minorities in Textbooks*, p. 77.

[5] Ibid., p. 112.

[6] Ibid., p. 77.

[7] Lloyd Marcus, *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961).

[8] Ibid., pp. 59–61.

[9] Ibid., p. 55.

[10] Ibid., p. 59.

[11] Irvin L. Child, Elmer H. Potter, and Estelle M. Levine, "Children's Textbooks and Personality Development: An Exploration in the Social Psychology of Education," *Psychological Monographs*, vol. 60, no. 3 (1949), pp. 1–54.

[12] Ibid., p. 49

and men as sociable and kind, but they were also more frequently shown as timid and unambitious.[13] In addition, female characters typically were shown being taken care of by a central character, leading the authors to conclude that female characters "are in a relatively helpless position."[14] In contrast, they found that male characters were portrayed as authoritative.[15]

As the civil rights and women's movements gained momentum in the 1960s, additional groups and also individuals expressed concern about the images of minorities and women in textbooks.[16] In 1962 the NAACP charged that a social studies textbook used in Detroit was "an insult to every Negro in Detroit."[17] Use of the book was subsequently discontinued, and the Detroit school board reaffirmed a "policy of having the schools contribute in maximum degree to understanding and good will among different racial, religious, and nationality groups."[18]

Throughout the 1960s, numerous studies discussed the problem of textbook bias against minorities, particularly portrayals of blacks.[19] Generally, these studies indicated that textbooks in use throughout the United States virtually omitted minorities, diminishing or ignoring the long history of violence and injustice against them.

The first large-scale public exposure of this problem, however, did not come until 1965, when Nancy Larrick published an article entitled "The All-White World of Children's Books."[20] Larrick, former president of the International Reading Association, pointed out that although more than half of the children in many major American cities were blacks and other minorities, the characters in the books these children were using to learn to read were overwhelmingly white. Noting especially the potential damage done to both white and black children by the invisibility of blacks in textbooks, she concluded: "Publishers have participated in a cultural lobotomy. . . .Our society has contrived to make the American Negro a rootless person."[21]

In the mid-sixties, there was a heightened awareness of the need for more "multiethnic" books, evident in extensive publicity associated with the publication of each new multiethnic or integrated book.[22] The number of beginning readers with black characters increased, some photographic essays highlighting black children appeared, and a few black people could be found in fiction picture books.[23]

The first books that were published in response to the problem of textbook biases against minorities emerged from what has been termed an assimilationist perspective.[24] The books looked as if an illustrator might have gone through the pages coloring an occasional child or family brown to "integrate" the books.[25] Labeled "color me brown," this approach to dealing with racial issues in textbooks met with criticism during the early 1970s.[26] In an article in 1971, "Black Representation in Children's Books," New York teacher and educational researcher Joan Baronberg attributed the "color me brown" books to publishers' acceptance of an approach that stressed the sameness of all people, avoided explicit references to race, and emphasized an idealized view of integration.[27] Baronberg noted that such a policy ignored essential differences among people and served to make minorities invisible.[28]

The idea that books should portray an idealized version of race relations was also criticized because it denies children the opportunity to gain insight into racial differences. James Banks, professor of education at the University of Washington and member of

[13] Ibid., p. 47.
[14] Ibid., p. 48.
[15] Ibid.
[16] For example, individuals included: Loretta Golden, "The Treatment of Minority Groups in Primary Social Studies Textbooks" (Ed.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1964); Irving Sloan, *The Negro in Modern History Textbooks* (Chicago: American Federation of Teachers, 1966). Among the organizations was the Council on Interracial Books for Children, a nonprofit organization founded in 1965 to promote literature and instructional materials for children free of race and sex biases.
[17] Sol. M. Elkin, "Minorities in Textbooks," *Teachers College Record*, vol. 66 (March 1965), p. 503.
[18] Ibid., p. 504.
[19] For example, see Kenneth M. Stampp and others, "The Negro in American History Textbooks" (Sacramento, Calif.: Department of Public Instruction, 1965).
[20] Nancy Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books," *Saturday Review*, Sept. 11, 1965, pp. 63–65, 84–85.
[21] Ibid., p. 85.
[22] U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Black Representation in Children's Books*, by Joan Baronberg (Washington, D.C.: Educational Resources Information Center, 1971), p. 4.
[23] Ibid., p. 4.
[24] In his presidential address to Division 9 (the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues) of the American Psychological Association, Dr. Harry Triandis, professor of psychology at the University of Illinois, defined assimilation as "a policy of making each cultural group adopt the culture of the mainstream." In contrast, he defined cultural pluralism as "a policy of coordinating the goals of each cultural group, but allowing each group to maintain its culture." Harry C. Triandis, "The Future of Pluralism" (address delivered at the Eighty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, Ill., Sept. 4, 1976), p. 2.
[25] Augusta Baker, "Guidelines for Black Books: An Open Letter to Juvenile Editors," *Publisher's Weekly*, vol. 196, no. 2 (July 14, 1969), p. 132.
[26] Baronberg, *Black Representation*, p. 8.
[27] Ibid., pp. 6–8.
[28] Ibid., p. 8.

the National Advisory Council on Ethnic Heritage Studies, has said: "Since democracy grants every individual the right to explore, examine and reach his own conclusion through reflection and discussion, [denying students] opportunities to reflect on racial problems is to refute the very tenets of democracy."[29] Banks explicitly rejected the "color me brown" approach as "expedient, superficial, and ineffective."[30]

By the early 1970s, textbook publishers had begun to make some changes in their portrayals of minorities, but these changes were criticized by leading minority educators as superficial. Joan Baronberg noted that these changes were not only inadequate but also counterproductive, because they were being accepted as sufficient by the general public. "Today," she said, "we are all rather complacent in our assurance that the world of children's books is at last racially balanced."[31]

Public interest groups and academic researchers continued to express concern about the textbook treatment of minority groups, females, and, more recently, older persons. By 1979 several hundred additional articles had been published focusing attention on the portrayals of Asian and Pacific Islanders, American Indians, Hispanics, blacks, religious minorities, females in general, and occasionally, females of some of these minority groups. During the late 1970s, studies were also done on textbook portrayals of older persons.

Over the same period, the number and variety of resources for promoting greater fairness in public school education increased significantly. *Fair Textbooks,* [32] a bibliography of more than 1,500 such resources compiled by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, includes references to materials that may lead to more diverse textbook treatment of Asian and Pacific Islanders, American Indians, Hispanics, blacks, religious minorities, females, the handicapped, and older persons. For example, one section of this resource guide lists the guidelines that textbook publishers developed to enable their authors and illustrators to avoid inequities in preparing new books. Another section lists pertinent State laws, procedures, and guidelines that have been developed on textbook portrayals.

Despite the existence of such resources, there is evidence that textbook biases persist. According to a 1977 report by Gwyneth Britton and Margaret Lumpkin, professors of education at Oregon State University, "publishers. . .cannot be enjoined from printing biased texts":[33]

> Though some states require proof that texts are sex-fair and race-fair before adoption by state textbook commissions, even these laws remain unenforced. . . .Contrary to the [publisher] guidelines, textbooks subsequently published by these industry leaders as revised series and new series show no substantive change. Their response to new criticisms has been to refuse to make immediate content changes on the grounds that editorial and publishing costs are prohibitive.[34]

Just as Baronberg observed complacency in the early 1970s, Britton and Lumpkin see it today:

> With the publication of these declarations of human worth [i.e., the guidelines], concerned individuals and groups were convinced that the textbooks were in the process of being changed. Publishers were obviously aware of the problem and were proceeding to make amends; they had just published guidelines for changing textbooks.[35]

After reviewing hundreds of the "new" textbook editions, Britton and Lumpkin concluded:

> Publishers have given parents and teachers eloquent guidelines rather than provide school children with truly unbiased texts. The time has come to reject the biased textbooks that show no relationship to the published guidelines.[36]

Because of continuing concern about textbooks, the Commission on Civil Rights has undertaken a comprehensive review of textbook studies dealing with these issues. To locate studies for review, the following comprehensive indices from winter 1974 to the present were searched: *Current Index to Journals in Education, Dissertation Abstracts International, Psychological Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts,*

[29] James A. Banks, "The Need for Positive Racial Attitudes in Textbooks," in *Racial Crisis in American Education,* ed. Robert L. Green (Chicago: Follett Educational Corp., 1969), p. 172.
[30] Ibid., p. 176.
[31] Baronberg, *Black Representation,* p. 4.
[32] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *Fair Textbooks: A Resource Guide* (1979).
[33] Gwyneth Britton and Margaret Lumpkin, *A Consumer's Guide to Sex, Race and Career Bias in Public School Textbooks* (Corvallis, Oreg.: Britton and Associates, 1977), p. 1.
[34] Ibid., pp. 1-2.
[35] Ibid., p. 6.
[36] Ibid.

and Education Abstracts. In addition, publications were obtained from the National Institute of Education, the National Education Association, the Council on Interracial Books for Children, and the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). In all, over 200 published articles, unpublished doctoral dissertations, and other studies were reviewed. The items selected for discussion in this report are illustrative of the most recent studies that have used valid and reliable quantitative or qualitative methodologies to examine the portrayal of minorities, older persons, and females in children's textbooks and the effects of those portrayals on children.[37] The review is based on the findings of others, and does not contain original research done by the Commission. Moreover, coverage of groups is necessarily limited by the availability of studies. Nevertheless, the report constitutes a ready reference of information on the ways in which minorities, females, and older persons are depicted in school books.

[37] An article on the portrayal of handicapped persons was located, but it presented no methodological information on the books that were chosen for review. The study is impressionistic, concluding that handicapped people are portrayed negatively. Albert v. Schwartz, "Disability in Children's Books: Is Visibility Enough?" *CIBC Bulletin,* vol. 8, nos. 6 and 7 (1977), pp. 10–15.

Chapter 2

The Portrayal of Minorities, Older Persons, and Females

Many studies of textbooks have found that minorities, older persons, and females are often stereotyped. That is, they are portrayed in a stylized manner that conforms to widely accepted, but often untrue, ideas of what members of the group are like. Although some of the most recent studies on children's textbooks and other reading materials show that stereotyping is diminishing, they also show that considerable stereotyping remains. This chapter reviews studies of the treatment of minorities, older persons, and females in children's textbooks.

Indians

Several studies of the portrayal of American Indians in textbooks note that they present an image that bears little resemblance to past or present Indian cultures. Even the use of the word "Indian"—a white man's name for the native peoples of this continent[1]—allows most non-Indians to think of diverse peoples as a uniform mass, ignoring essential distinctions of tribe, language, and culture. In her analysis of 18 reading textbooks featuring American Indian characters, published in the early 1970s, Mary Gloyne Byler, a Cherokee Indian and editor of *Indian Affairs* newsletter, found that American Indians were rarely presented in a contemporary context. Byler also reported that the books failed to describe the rich diversity of American Indian cultures and traditions.[2] Robert Moore, a director at the Council on Interracial Books for Children, and Arlene Hirschfelder, education consultant for the Association on American Indian Affairs, found very similar results in their 1977 study of Indian imagery in children's books.[3] They examined 75 books for children under 10 years of age and found that the image of American Indians was limited to the past, "suggesting to children that Indians do not exist in the present or that, if they do, they are less 'Indian' today."[4] Moore and Hirschfelder also reported that textbooks do not distinguish among Indian tribes:

> Generalized reference to "the American Indian" or to "Indian culture" obliterates the enormous diversity of ceremonies, world views, political and social organization, lifestyles, language, and art among the Chickahominy, Nava-

[1] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. a historian at the University of Michigan, describes the process by which the name "Indian" was applied to the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere:

> The specific term *Indian* as a general designation for the inhabitants of North and South America in addition to some Asians stems from the erroneous geography of Christopher Columbus. Under the impression he had landed among the islands off Asia, he called the peoples he met *los Indios*. Although he quite self-consciously gave new names to islands upon his voyage, his application of the term Indios seems to have been almost casual. The word was introduced to the public in the offhand manner of an aside through his oft-reprinted letter of 1493. Regardless of whether Columbus thought he had landed among the East Indies or among islands near Japan or even elsewhere near the Asian continent, he would probably have used the same all-embracing term for the natives, because *India* stood as a synonym for all of Asia east of the river Indus at the time and *Indies* was the broadest designation available for all of the area he claimed under royal patent. Even after subsequent explorations corrected Columbus's error in geography, the Spanish continued to employ *Indios* for all peoples of the New World, including the Aztec and Inca societies. As Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes explained to his readers in *De la natural hystoria de las Indias* (1526), the general term was Indians "for so caule wee all nations of the new founde lands." Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), pp. 4–5, footnotes omitted.

[2] Mary Gloyne Byler, *American Indian Authors for Young Readers* (New York: The Association on American Indian Affairs, 1973), p. 8.

[3] Robert B. Moore and Arlene Hirschfelder, "Feathers, Tomahawks and Tipis: A Study of Stereotyped 'Indian' Imagery in Children's Picture Books," *Unlearning 'Indian' Stereotypes* (New York: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977), p. 15.

[4] Ibid.

jo, Menominee Ojibway, Mohawk, Choctaw, Osage, Ute, Hopi and other Native peoples, both in the past as well as today.[5]

Other authors reported that American Indians are also depicted as having a simple, backward culture. Based on their review of 300 textbooks, Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry noted:

> Generalizations [in the description of Indian culture] lead to distortion, implying that the people were without technology, had no knowledge of tools and lived in a primitive world in which man huddled in a cave.[6]

In her 1973 dissertation for the University of Oregon's history department, Margaret Gribskov analyzed 44 social studies textbooks and found that many textbook authors used the term "Stone Age" to refer to Indian practices in the 16th and 17th centuries.[7] There was no clarification of the term, thus, it reinforced the stereotype of "simple savages."

Gribskov also noted that the textbooks misrepresented Indian "consensus democracy, which meant that nothing could be done by a tribe as a whole unless every member of the tribe consented. In most cases no single individual had the right to speak for the tribe except when specifically authorized to do so. . ." Yet, textbooks referred to "kings" and "chieftains," labels that had been erroneously attached to Indian leaders.[8] Finally, Gribskov criticized the textbooks' distorted coverage of such Indian cultural traditions as legends, ceremonial pipe smoking, jewelry, and pottery.[9]

In social studies textbooks, several studies reported some decrease in the extent to which American Indians are associated with violence on the American frontier. Yet they also reported that the textbooks convey some of the same messages, albeit in more subtle terms. For example, anthropologist Charles Swanson contrasted textbooks published in the early 1960s and early 1970s and found that the textbooks perpetuate the stereotype of the warlike Indian. He reported that textbooks discuss violence frequently, particularly when it is initiated by American Indians, and that textbooks communicate the message that Indians are savage and uncivilized by discussing their "unfair" tactics in warfare. He found that the textbooks fail to explain why Indians were at war in the first place.[10]

Blacks

In 1972 the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction sponsored the preparation of a comprehensive bibliography of books that included blacks as central characters.[11] The department's research group concluded that the quality of the books involving blacks varied markedly. Although some children's books, they said, were "beautifully executed and mark the beginning of a move to both confirm the existence of Blacks and to record a full and accurate picture of their history and experience," others were "written from a narrow and. . .distorted perspective."[12] After reviewing 300 currently available books, they summarized five specific objectionable patterns in the portrayal of blacks.

1. Romanticism: The Wisconsin research group noted first that books about blacks frequently convey a romantic impression that camouflages reality. For example, a story about Frederick Douglass emphasized the gentility of Douglass's master and ignored the inhumanity of slavery. When depicting slavery, the research group noted, biographies frequently showed blacks in idyllic, pastoral settings[13]

2. Avoidance: The Wisconsin research team observed that "avoidance," defined as a "denial of the harsh and oppressive conditions under which blacks have functioned," was very common[14] Avoidance was found in books that presented slavery as a benign institution, stressing that it existed as an economic imperative for the development of industrialized America. One book explained the absence

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[5] Ibid., p. 6.

[6] Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry, eds. *Textbooks and the American Indian* (San Francisco, Calif.: Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1970), p. 19. Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry are of the American Indian Historical Society.

[7] Margaret Elise Gribskov, "A Critical Analysis of Textbook Accounts of the Role of Indians in American History" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1973), pp. 56–7.

[8] Ibid., pp. 57–58.

[9] Ibid., p. 66.

[10] Charles H. Swanson, "The Treatment of the American Indian in High School History Texts, *The Indian Historian* (n.d.), p. 35.

[11] The study was done for the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction by the Children's Literature Review Board. The report was prepared under the general editorship of Bettye Latimer, a guest lecturer in black history and literature at the University of Wisconsin and a former high school English teacher. The five associate editors were Margaret Green, a Ph.D. candidate in German at the University of Wisconsin; Dorothy Holden, a social worker and chairman of the Madison Human Relations PTA Council; Ann Cosby, an elementary school teacher and curriculum materials consultant for the Madison Public Schools Human Relations Department; Joy Newmann, a social worker and human relations consultant; and Marian Todd, an elementary school teacher. Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, *Starting Out Right: Choosing Books About Black People for Young Children*, ed. Bettye I. Latimer (1972), pp. v–vi.

[12] Ibid., p. 3.

[13] Ibid., pp. 13–14.

[14] Ibid., p. 14.

of slaves in the North this way: "It was cold in the North. It was too cold to grow cotton. So people in the North did not own slaves. They did not need them."[15]

Avoidance was also found in a biography of Martin Luther King. The research group argued that the book failed to indicate the injustices that Dr. King devoted his life to fighting. The child reader was given no clear idea of what Dr. King was doing, or why it was important.[16]

3. **Bootstrap:** The Wisconsin research team found a common pattern they labeled "bootstrap," in which the impression is given that blacks can always succeed if only they are properly motivated and help themselves to get ahead. The black characters in such books were "told to work hard and maintain their ambitions in spite of prejudice." Major characters were shown to have overcome their problems through sheer perseverance.[17]

4. **Oasis:** Another name for "token integration," the "oasis" pattern was found by the Wisconsin team in fictional stories rather than biographies. Many stories showed one black child in an all-white world; for example, in one story, a little black girl was pictured as being completely surrounded by whites, including her white doll.[18]

5. **Ostrich-in-the-Sand:** The Wisconsin research team noted that most books that tried to demonstrate acts of prejudice and discrimination gave a "distorted, unreal and oversimplified point of view." Labeled "ostrich-in-the-sand," this pattern was illustrated by books alluding to—but not directly discussing—discriminatory acts. For example, a picture book that contained an illustration with a "No Blacks" sign over a store entrance. Since the book did not offer any explanation for the sign, the research team argued that the book might convey to young readers that such signs are appropriate.[19]

The Council on Interracial Books for Children found similar patterns of stereotyping in its 1975 study of racial biases in career education materials.[20] The "oasis" pattern occurred in illustrations that frequently included blacks in a token fashion. The council found that although blacks were not physically segregated from white coworkers, they were often shown working alone or as the only black person in an otherwise all-white workplace.

A comprehensive study by New York City teacher Fred Turetsky compared the portrayal of blacks in 40 elementary school textbooks published in the 1950s with their portrayal in similar textbooks published in the early 1970s.[21] The settings in which blacks appeared had changed from a predominantly rural environment to an urban milieu. Turetsky reported that in the 1950s textbooks, none of the illustrations showed blacks in urban or suburban settings, but in the early 1970s textbooks, blacks were shown in cities, suburbs, schools, and business scenes in 63 percent of the illustrations.[22]

Turetsky also compared the depictions of blacks in various occupations. In the 1950s textbooks, 98 percent of the 66 black male characters shown were depicted in service work and 2 percent were in sports and entertainment. Of the 5 black female characters, 3 were maids and 2 were not employed. No blacks were shown in such professional positions as doctor, lawyer, or teacher in the 1950s books.[23]

Although the portrayal of blacks had improved in the 1970s textbooks, they were still shown in the sports and entertainment fields or in service work more than twice as often as they were shown in professional work. Of 206 black male characters, 27 percent were shown in professional work, 40 percent were in sports and entertainment occupations, and 20 percent were shown in service work. Of the 82 black female characters, 23 percent were shown in professional occupations, 48 percent were homemakers, and 4 percent were maids.[24]

State history textbooks used in the South have also been found to include stereotyped portrayals of blacks. For example, a 1971 study by Melton McLaurin analyzed the portrayals of blacks in seven State history textbooks used in three Deep South States—Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama. Six were approved by State textbook committees and were

[15] Ibid., p. 15.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., p. 17.
[19] Ibid., p. 18.
[20] Council on Interracial Books for Children, "Racism in Materials: How to Detect it and How to Counteract its Effects in the Classroom," in EPIE Career Education Set, vol. 1 (New York: EPIE Institute, 1975), pp. 31-32.
[21] Turetsky analyzed 40 basal readers published from 1950-1960 and 38 basal readers published from 1970-1973. The text and illustrations were analyzed with respect to the occupational and physical characteristics of characters, settings, activities, and allocation of space to black characters. Fred Turetsky, "The Treatment of Black Americans in Primary Grade Textbooks Used in New York City Elementary Schools," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, vol. 11 (December 1974), p. 31.
[22] Ibid., table 14, p. 41.
[23] Ibid., tables 3 and 4, p. 34.
[24] Ibid. These figures do not total 100 percent due to infrequent portrayal in miscellaneous categories.

used in required elementary and junior high school level history courses.[25]

McLaurin found what he considered gross and pervasive distortions and stereotyping in each of the seven books. Most of the books ignored the issue of slavery, he said, but when references to slavery were included, slaves were portrayed as well-treated and happy; for example, "Most masters treat slaves 'kindly.' The plantation wife 'is the best friend the Negroes have, and they know it.'" One book, McLaurin reported, told readers that runaway slaves were treated "leniently."[26] According to McLaurin, "the overall picture is one of slavery as a benevolent, paternalistic system." One text said, "with all the drawbacks of slavery, it should be noted that slavery was the earliest form of social security in the United States."[27]

McLaurin found the treatment of the Reconstruction period to be similarly stereotyped. He was particularly concerned about the favorable way in which the Ku Klux Klan was portrayed in one textbooks: "The [Klan] banded together 'to do something to bring back law and order, to get government back in the hands of honest men who knew how to run it.'" Moreover, the book told students, "The Klan did not ride often, only when it had to."[28] There was no further mention of the role of blacks in the post Civil War South. After reading the seven textbooks, McLaurin concluded that blacks were never portrayed in active roles and "almost no attention [was] given to their efforts to become active members of society."[29]

In summary, the studies reviewed in relation to the treatment of blacks in textbooks indicated the following:

1. Blacks were still stereotyped in certain occupational roles, primarily service work, sports and entertainment;
2. There was a strong tendency to present romanticized versions of black life and to avoid or deny the actual conditions in which many blacks have existed;
3. Southern textbooks were particularly likely to present romanticized or distorted histories; and
4. Blacks were frequently presented as "tokens."

[25] Melton McLaurin, "Images of Negroes in Deep South Public School State History Texts," *Phylon* (1971), pp. 237–38.
[26] Ibid., p. 239.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., p. 241.
[29] Ibid., p. 245.
[30] The Council on Interracial Books for Children, "100 Books About Puerto Ricans: A Study in Racism, Sexism and Colonalism," *Interracial Digest*, no. 1 (1972), pp. 38–41.

Hispanics

Studies of the portrayal of Hispanics in textbooks have found two prevalent themes that perpetuate stereotyped images: (1) Hispanics were usually portrayed living a life of poverty in an exclusively Hispanic environment, and (2) Hispanics were frequently associated with violence.

A study of 100 books for and about Puerto Rican children in 1972 by Dolores Prida, Susan Ribner, and others illustrated the first of these themes.[30] Prida and Ribner found a recurrent pattern of poverty in many of the books, implying that Puerto Ricans are uniformly poor. Furthermore, they reported that the books frequently presented Puerto Ricans as people in need of social services.[31] This study also criticized the books for their limited portrayals of Puerto Ricans:

> Notably lacking in the books are Puerto Ricans of African descent (Afro Borinquens) or of Indian (Taino) descent. This not only ignores the significant African and Indian contribution to Puerto Rican culture, but falsifies the reality of the Puerto Rican racial makeup.[32]

In their 1977 study of American history textbooks, Luis Nieves Falcon, Elizabeth Martinez, and others found extensive evidence of the association of Puerto Ricans with violence, crime, and juvenile delinquency. They were particularly concerned about the consistent portrayal of Puerto Ricans as members of gangs.[33]

Several researchers have also reported that Mexican Americans are associated with violence in history textbook discussions about Mexico and Mexico's relations with the United States. For his dissertation at the University of Southern California in 1971, John Gaines analyzed the treatment of Mexican American history in 10 high school textbooks. Gaines found that these high school history textbooks portrayed Americans as heroes, but Mexicans were portrayed as obstructionists to American expansion.[34]

A study of 200 books on Mexican American themes by the Council on Interracial Books for Children also found that Mexican Americans were

[31] Ibid., p. 41.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Council on Interracial Books for Children, *Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks* (New York, 1977), p. 99.
[34] John Strother Gaines, "The Treatment of Mexican-American History in Contemporary American High School Textbooks" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1971), p. 283.

portrayed in a stereotyped fashion with "serapes, pinatas [and] burros."[35] The council concluded: The books surveyed are scarcely relevant to Chicano experience or interest at all. . . .There is very little in these books to enable a child to recognize a way of life, a history, a set of life circumstances—a *culture* —with which he or she can identify.[36]

Asian and Pacific Island Americans

Recent studies suggest that there is extensive stereotyping of Asian and Pacific Island Americans in widely used reading and social studies textbooks. In 1976 Alan Moriyama, Franklin Odo, and nine other Asian American book reviewers analyzed 66 current books that described Americans of Asian ancestry for the Council on Interracial Books for Children. The reviewers reported that these books presented Asian Americans as "foreigners who all look alike."[37] They reported that the books misrepresented Asian American culture by emphasizing ancient customs, superstitions, festivals, and the Confucian cultural tradition.[38] The council's study also argued that Asian Americans are portrayed as a "model minority" for whom "success" is measured by the extent to which Asian Americans have assimilated or accepted the attitudes and values of the white middle class.[39]

They found that history textbooks most frequently portrayed Asian Americans as having worked for the railroads or in the service industries. One history book stated, for instance, "They helped build the transcontinental railroads. They also worked as household servants or as waiters and launderers."[40] According to the council there was no explanation of the historical forces responsible for the presence of Asian Americans in these limited roles.[41] Similarly, Marjori Lee's 1972 study of nine American history textbooks used in the State of Oregon found that Chinese Americans were rarely mentioned. For example, she found that one book's only reference to Chinese Americans was in the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad.[42]

Albert Yee, professor of educational psychology at California State University, Long Beach, studied 300 social studies textbooks and documented "token" representation of Asian Americans. For example, Yee said that textbooks may have a picture of an Asian, often in an interracial group of Americans, or one or two lines mentioning the existence of urban Chinatowns (e.g., "Chinatowns preserve interesting Oriental customs" or "San Francisco's [Chinatown] is a must stop for visitors to the lovely city by the Golden Gate"). Yee also reported that they often included "several lines about Chinese railroad workers, the laundry and culinary skills of Chinese people, or their relation to China where their ancestors first developed silk."[43]

Finally, a stereotyped view peculiar to Asian American females, the "China doll" image, was found in many textbooks. For example, one book in the Council on Interracial Books for Children's study described a woman as follows: "Somehow Kim seemed more like a doll than she did like a real live girl."[44]

Religious Groups

Several studies have shown that religious groups are rarely portrayed in textbooks. For his doctoral dissertation at Saint Louis University, Jimmie Linsin analyzed the treatment of several minority groups in history textbooks used in Missouri in the early 1970s. Linsin found that the textbooks included almost no information on many religious groups, including Anglicans, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Moslems, and Hindus. Most of the textbooks similarly failed to acknowledge the religious beliefs of American Indians, he reported.[45] Linsin also found that the textbooks largely ignored the contributions of Jews to American society.[46]

Similarly, a study of the treatment of minorities in textbooks by Michael Kane for the Anti-Defamation

[35] Council on Interracial Books for Children, "Chicano Culture in Children's Literature: Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions," *CIBC Bulletin*, vol. 5, nos. 7 and 8 (1975), p. 7.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Council on Interracial Books for Children, "How Books Distort the Asian American Image," *CIBC Bulletin*, vol. 7, nos. 2 and 3 (1976), p. 3.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid., p. 4.
[40] Ibid., p. 3.
[41] Council on Interracial Books for Children, *Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions*, p. 36.
[42] Marjori Lee, "Cultural Pluralism and American Textbooks: A Study of the Chinese Immigrants in Oregon" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1972), p. 18.
[43] Albert H. Yee, "Myopic Perceptions and Textbooks: Chinese Americans Search for Identity," *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 29, no. 2 (1973), p. 107.
[44] Council on Interracial Books for Childrens, "The Portrayal of Asian Americans in Children's Books," *CIBC Bulletin*, vol. 7, nos. 2 and 3, 1976, p. 22.
[45] Jimmie Linsin, "An Analysis of the Treatment of Religion, the Black American, and Women in the American History Textbooks Used by the Public, Private, and Parochial High Schools of the City and County of Saint Louis, Missouri, 1972–1973" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Saint Louis University, Saint Louis, 1974), pp. 36–7.
[46] Ibid., p. 109.

Leaque of B'nai B'rith found that history textbooks devoted more space to ancient Jewish civilization than to recent Jewish history.[47] Kane also reported that references to Jews in contemporary America were inadequate.[48] He concluded that very few textbooks presented a "realistic sense of the diversity of the American Jewish population and thus of their similarity to other peoples of this nation."[49]

Older Persons

A few recent studies have documented that textbooks also convey stereotyped images of older persons. In 1976 Edward Ansello, associate director of the Center on Aging at the University of Maryland, studied the portrayal of older persons in 656 children's books.[50] He found that 83 percent of all physical descriptions consisted of the three adjectives: "old," "little," and "elder." The most frequent personality descriptions were "poor" (17 percent of all descriptors) and "sad" (7 percent).[51] Ansello concluded that stereotypes of older persons were not so much negative as they were "boring" because the older person was denied the full range of behaviors and roles.[52]

In her 1977 analysis of 100 books for children from preschool through grade three, Phyllis Barnum of the University of Chicago found additional evidence of stereotyping of older persons. For example, she said older persons were portrayed as employed in a limited range of occupations, primarily in service jobs such as janitors, storekeepers, and servants.[53] Furthermore, Barnum found that older persons were shown as significantly less healthy and less self-reliant than younger adults. According to Barnum, these images gave "an unnecessarily gloomy cast to old age in children's literature," and taught that old age cannot be an enjoyable time of life.[54] Barnum found that older poople constituted 3.3 percent of all main characters, 3.3 percent of all characters, and appeared in 5.3 percent of all illustrations.[55]

[47] Michael B. Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks* (Quadrangle Books, 1970), p. 14.
[48] Ibid., p. 34.
[49] Ibid., p. 49.
[50] Edward Ansello, "Old Age as a Concept, Ageism in Picture Books, Part III," *CIBC Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 8, pp. 6–8.
[51] Ibid., p. 8.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Phyllis Wnet Barnum, "Discrimination Against the Aged in Young Children's Literature," *Elementary School Journal*, vol. 77 (March 1977), p. 304.

Females

Several dozen studies have documented the existence of stereotyped images of women and girls in textbooks. This section reviews the findings of an illustrative set of studies examining the treatment of females in textbooks on reading, mathematics, science, and foreign languages.

Reading Textbooks

As a part of their comprehensive 1972 study of 2,760 stories from 134 textbooks, Women on Words and Images, a consulting group in New Jersey, compared the frequency of males and females appearing in stories with "active mastery themes," in which the central characters display such qualities as ingenuity, creativity, bravery, perseverance, achievement, adventurousness, curiosity, autonomy, and self-respect.[56] Males appeared in such stories much more frequently than females. The group reported that the overall ratio for stories with mastery themes was three males to every one female.[57]

Women on Words and Images also compared the frequency of males and females appearing in stories in which the central characters were shown as emotional, dependent or passive, and females appeared more than twice as often as males in such stories. In stories with themes of "passivity" and "dependency," girls were featured six times as frequently as boys.[58] Girls were frequently shown depending on boys, the group concluded, when they could have been shown handling the situation themselves. In contrast, the group reported that boys "try unusual, thoughtful, or daring approaches to their problems. They make things, build things like walkie-talkies and soap-box racers, [and] create things like ice sculptures."[59]

Another way in which males and females were reported as stereotyped in textbooks was in the range of their occupational roles. Women on Words and Images found that males were shown in about six times as many different occupations as females (147 compared to 26).[60] Moreover, males were

[54] Ibid., p. 305.
[55] Ibid., p. 302.
[56] Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers* (Princeton, N.J.: Women on Words and Images, 1975), p. 12.
[57] Ibid., p. 23.
[58] Ibid., pp. 12–13.
[59] Ibid., p. 33.
[60] Ibid., pp. 33–34.

shown as job holders and fathers; females were shown as either job holders or mothers, rarely both. The group found that mothers were not portrayed in active, positive ways. Although mothers' tasks were confined exclusively to domestic chores, the group said fathers were shown in a wide range of outside activities, including fixing mechanical things. Only fathers were shown having fun with their children, building things with them, taking them to interesting places, and solving problems with them and for them.[61]

Mathematics Textbooks

Studies on the portrayal of males and females in mathematics textbooks have shown that although some improvements have been made during this decade, sex stereotyping was still prevalent in many widely used textbooks. For example, mathematics teacher Barbara Steele found that by avoiding the use of human figures, one recent mathematics series came close to avoiding the problem of stereotyping.[62] Stereotypes still appeared, however, when references were made to the sexes. For example, females were omitted in a discussion of Olympic winners.[63]

In another series of textbooks, however, Steele found that males were portrayed as far more active than females in word problems. Females were shown in such activities as collecting shells, combing hair, and holding dolls. Boys and men played marbles, rode horses, and traveled. In the total series, 9 girls and 85 boys were shown in strenuous activities.[64]

University of Wisconsin professor of education Henry Kepner and high school mathematics teacher Lilane Koehn examined 24 mathematics textbooks published between 1971 and 1974 to determine the relative frequency of female and male characters.[65] Overall, they reported, males constituted 62 percent of all illustrated characters and females 38 percent; 59 percent of all word problems concerned males and 41 percent concerned females.[66] Kepner and Koehn updated this study by examining three "widely-advertised" new series published between 1975 and 1977, two of which were revisions of the previously studied series. They found some improvement in the more recently published textbooks in which males constituted 58 percent of illustrated characters and females 42 percent.[67] In word problems, however, the improvement was marked. The problems in two of three series showed a larger percentage of females than males, with only one book having males identified more often.[68]

Science Textbooks

In science textbooks, several studies have found that sex stereotyping was manifested in the types of activities and occupations in which girls and boys were shown. Professor of education at the University of California at Berkeley Lenore Weitzman and her assistant, Diane Rizzo, found that boys were shown more often than girls making things, conducting experiments, and demonstrating scientific principles. Girls were shown either observing the activity or as being the object of it (e.g., being given shots or having balls thrown to them).[69]

Several researchers have argued that the language used also perpetuates the notion that women are onlookers and men are scientists. For example, in her analysis of two earth science textbook series, New York science teacher Lois Arnold found that men were shown reading instruments, working in the field, and plotting weather maps. Women and girls, when shown at all, were onlookers. Arnold concluded that the language and the illustrations suggested that only males are scientists.[70]

Foreign Language Textbooks

In a study of 25 foreign language textbooks published from 1970 to 1974, Rhoda Stern, director of language laboratories of Bernard Baruch College, found stereotypes in the situational dialogues, photographs, jobs, and activities in which males and females were depicted. For example, only one mother—a social worker—was shown as having a career outside the home. Stern found that photo-

[61] Ibid., p. 35.
[62] Barbara Steele, "Sexism in Math Texts," *Edcentric*, vol. 40–41 (Spring-Summer, 1977), p. 19.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid., p. 18.
[65] Henry S. Kepner, Jr., and Lilane R. Koehn, "Sex Roles in Mathematics: A Study of the Status of Sex Stereotypes in Elementary Mathematics Texts," *The Arithmetic Teacher*, vol. 24 (May 1977), p. 380.
[66] Ibid., p. 381.
[67] Ibid., p. 383.
[68] Ibid., p. 384.
[69] Lenore J. Weitzman and Diane Rizzo, *Biased Textbooks: Action Steps You Can Take* (Washington, D.C.: The Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, 1974), p. 5.
[70] Lois Arnold, "Florence Bascom and the Exclusion of Women from Earth Science Curriculum Materials," *Journal of Geological Education*, vol. 23 (1975), p. 110.

graphs portrayed males in most professional roles and females in domestic roles.[71] Sports were presented as an exclusively male domain.[72]

Summary

This chapter brought together the findings of a wide variety of studies on the portrayal of minorities, females, and older people in textbooks used in the Nation's schools during the 1970s. The findings of these studies may be summarized as follows:

- American Indians were rarely shown in contemporary settings, and when they were, their customs were not treated respectfully. The history and culture of American Indians were oversimplified and presented from a European or Anglo perspective.
- Although a few token black people were depicted as successful, blacks were typically portrayed in a limited range of occupations. Moreover, the studies indicated that some books insensitively portrayed the institution of slavery and its aftermath.
- Hispanics were most frequently shown living a life of poverty in exclusively Hispanic neighborhoods, and Hispanic characters were frequently associated with violence. Most books did not distinguish among Hispanic cultures.
- Contemporary Asian and Pacific Island Americans were frequently portrayed in exotic dress observing ancient customs. Contemporary Asian and Pacific Island Americans were often depicted as a successful "model minority," or as employed in such service occupations as laundry workers, waiters, and gardeners.
- Most textbooks did not present much information on religious groups. When religious groups were mentioned at all, it was rarely in the context of contemporary society.
- Older persons, when they appeared at all, were frequently described as little, poor, and sad, and were seldom shown as healthy, self-reliant, and enjoying life.
- Women and girls were typically featured in stories with themes of dependency and domesticity. They also appeared in relatively few jobs outside the home.

In general, the studies reviewed indicated that stereotyped portrayals of minorities, girls and women, and older people were still prevalent in textbooks in wide use during the 1970s.

[71] Rhoda H. Stern, "Sexism in Foreign Language Textbooks," *Foreign Language Annals*, vol. 9 (September 1976), p. 296.

[72] Ibid., p. 298.

Chapter 3

The Effects of Textbooks on Students

Children in the United States spend a significant portion of their lives in school. They not only learn basic skills, but they also formulate attitudes and behaviors from their school experiences. Textbooks are a major part of these experiences, and it has been estimated that 75 percent of a child's classwork and 90 percent of the homework focuses on the textbook. From elementary through high school, a child reads at least 32,000 textbook pages.[1]

Textbooks are intended to teach not only facts but also to influence values and behavior.[2] Textbook publishers are well aware of this latter goal as the Association of American Publishers has noted:

> Textbooks play an important part in education, transmitting not only facts and figures, but ideas and cultural values. The words and pictures children see in school influence the development of the attitudes they carry into adult life: these words and pictures not only express ideas, but are part of the educational experience which shapes ideas.[3]

Because the values textbooks contain are so much a part of them, textbooks are typically selected for official school use by State or local school boards. Furthermore, because textbooks are presented to children by figures of authority, i.e., their teachers, textbooks can transmit officially sanctioned values to students. The Women on Words and Images, a research and consulting group in New Jersey, noted this special official role:

> In many states, [textbooks] have to be approved by state officials. . . .They are used in state public schools, which are attended under state compulsion. . . .They are presented to children within a context of authority in the classroom. Finally, every child must read them.[4]

Since children have limited experiences upon which to make judgments, they are highly susceptible to the influences encountered in their lives.[5] Their need to acquire knowledge and understanding is great. Depending on (1) the needs and predisposition of the reader, (2) the circumstances or setting in which the reading occurs, and (3) the contents of the materials read, textbooks can have a large influence on children's lives.

Studies of the treatment of minorities and females in textbooks were reviewed in chapter two of this report. This chapter examines published research on the effects of textbooks on (1) children's attitudes, (2) their personality development and behavior, and (3) their academic and long-range, career-related achievement.

[1] Hillel Black, *The American School Book* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1967), p. 3.

[2] John U. Michaelis, *Social Studies for Children in a Democracy: Recent Trends and Developments*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 5.

[3] Association of American Publishers, "Statement on Bias-free Materials" (New York: Committee on Social Issues of the A.A.P. School Division, September 1976), pp. 1-2.

[4] Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers* (Princeton: Women on Words and Images, 1975), p. 41.

[5] Studies examining the influence of media on children reveal that children are more likely to be affected by the media when their knowledge is less complete from other sources. Eric A. Kimmel, "Can Children's Books Change Children's Values?" *Education Leadership*, vol. 28 (November 1970), p. 214.

Attitudes

Young children assimilate the content and values of reading materials with little conscious thought. Values and attitudes concerning the race, ethnicity, gender, social class, age, or physical appearance of people may be altered by the presence of subtle distortions as well as gross stereotypes in children's textbooks. When questioned about the kinds of conscious, attitudinal changes experienced through reading, children frequently identify changes in their attitudes toward people and animals.

Nila Banton Smith, an author and prominent authority in reading, conducted a study to assess the self-reported effects of reading on children. Fourth through eighth-grade children were asked if they could remember any book, story, poem, or article that changed their thinking or attitudes and, if so, to write about it. Children were not pressured to respond. Most respondents (61 percent) reported changes in their attitudes; 37 percent reported changes in attitudes toward people, 33 percent toward animals, 16 percent toward work and vocations, and the remaining 14 percent identified miscellaneous attitude changes, including those toward locales, sports, and historical events. The following are examples of the children's self-reported changes in attitude toward people:

> Girl, grade 6: "The book. . .has answered many questions for me. I have always wondered how the Chinese boys and girls were different from us. To me they seemed queer and I couldn't believe they have the same ambitions that we have. The real reason was that I have never been with Chinese children or read about them."
>
> Boy, grade 8: "I learned that Indians have honor and are not all savages and I have a respect for them that I didn't have before."
>
> Girl, grade 6: "Although I didn't like to admit it, I thought the white people were better than the Negroes. But I changed my mind after reading. . . .a story of a Negro boy who came to a new community. . . .There were no Negroes in that town and so Charlie had to make friends with the other boys which was not easy since most of those boys felt just as I had. Charlie proved himself a good citizen and a good friend. I think now that I would play with Charlie if he came to my town. The color of the skin makes no difference."[6]

Other studies have also shown that reading textbooks improve the attitudes of white children toward racial minorities. In 1969 John Litcher and David Johnson,[7] professors of educational psychology at the University of Minnesota, investigated the effects of all-white and "multi-ethnic"[8] readers on the attitudes toward blacks of second grade white students in a midwestern city.[9] Four independent measures of racial attitudes, (the Clark doll test, the Horowitz and Horowitz "show me" test, the categories test, and a direct comparison test),[10] were administered to the children before and after they read the textbooks. Thirty-four children who used the multiethnic reader for 4 months were compared to 34 children who used an all-white reader. Students did not use other multiethnic materials in the classroom. The results of the four tests demonstrated that children who used multiethnic readers developed markedly more favorable attitudes toward blacks than did the comparision group:[11]

> [On] all four tests the children using the multiethnic readers responded significantly more favorably toward Negroes than the children using the regular readers. . . .
>
> The results of this study dramatically indicate that the use of multiethnic readers in an elementary school will result in more favorable attitudes toward Negroes.[12]

A study to assess both the positive and negative effects of reading materials on children's attitudes

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[6] Nila Banton Smith, "Some Effects of Reading on Children," *Elementary English*, vol. 25 (May 1948), pp. 271–78.

[7] John Litcher and David Johnson "Changes in Attitudes Toward Negroes of White Elementary School Students After Use of Multiethnic Readers," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 60 (April 1969), pp. 148–52.

[8] Litcher and Johnson define "multiethnic" readers as those which contain characters from "several different racial and ethnic groups. . . .Negroes are portrayed as having middle class characteristics. . .in integrated situations." Ibid., pp. 148–49.

[9] Although Litcher and Johnson used multiethnic readers for their study, they only tested students' attitudes toward blacks.

[10] In the Clark doll test, children chose the doll they preferred for a playmate from two dolls that were identical except for skin color. In the show me test, students identified "intelligent" and/or "poor" children from portraits of blacks and whites. The categories test utilized five pictures of groups that varied in their age, sex, and ethnic compositions. Students selected the one person in each group who "did not belong." For example, in a picture of a group consisting of three white boys, one white girl, and one black boy, a child might differentiate on the basis of race or sex. For the direct comparison test, children organized a list of traits, e.g., "honest," "lazy," or "clean," based on those thought to be most characteristic of white, blacks, both or neither. Ibid., p. 149.

[11] The children who read multiethnic readers decreased their preference for their own racial group over the other, reduced the amount of social distance placed between white and black racial groups, less frequently excluded a child on the basis of race, and less frequently attributed negative traits to blacks and positive traits to whites. Ibid., p. 151.

[12] Ibid.

toward Eskimos was conducted by Rouland H. Tauran for his doctoral dissertation at the University of Maryland. Tauran divided eight classes of third grade students into two groups. One group read stories that were considered favorable to Eskimos; the other group read stories that were unfavorable. The children's attitudes toward Eskimos were altered, either positively or negatively, consistent with the attitudes expressed in the reading materials.[13]

Similar studies have been done on the effects of reading textbooks on the racial attitudes of fifth grade students toward American Indians,[14] of white, junior high school students toward blacks,[15] and of preschool white children toward racial minorities.[16] These studies all showed generally that children's attitudes toward members of other racial groups are affected by both subtle and overt values transmitted through the contents of reading textbooks.

The integration of ethnic studies within the social studies curriculum has also been reported to produce changes in children's racial attitudes. For example, Rodney Roth,[17] a teacher in Pontiac, Michigan, investigated the effects of black studies[18] on the racial attitudes of black children for his doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan. Fifth grade students from one group of schools used the black studies textbook materials for 3 months, while another group did not use them. Use of the black studies curriculum significantly enhanced black students' attitudes toward both black and white people.[19]

The effects of ethnic studies programs on white children's attitudes have also been examined. Kalil Gezi, professor of education and vice president of the California Educational Research Association, and Barbara Johnson, professor of educational psychology, have successfully used the black heritage curriculum to enhance the racial attitudes of white elementary school children.[20] Similar research has found that the racial attitudes of both white and nonwhite children improve after studying ethnic heritage and culture.[21]

The amount of time children spend with textbooks has also been found to influence the extent to which they assimilate and retain attitudes. Susan Jenkins, a graduate student at Arizona State University, documented this effect using Arizona's State-adopted reading program.[22] Consonants were represented by boys and vowels by girls in these materials, and the letters in the illustrations displayed traditional personality and career sex-role stereotyped behavior.[23] Children were taught with this reading program for

[13] Rouland H. Tauran, "The Influence of Reading on the Attitudes of Third Graders Toward Eskimos" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1967), p. 43.

[14] Frank L. Fisher tested the hypothesis that reading materials about American Indians will help overcome prejudice in fifth-grade children. A pretest-posttest examination of two experimental groups and a control group was conducted. One experimental group read six selected stories, the second experimental group read the stories and discussed them. The control group did not read the stories. The results indicated that both experimental groups showed significant changes in developing positive attitudes toward American Indians as compared to the control group. The greatest attitude change occurred in the groups that both read and discussed the stories. Frank L. Fisher, "The Influence of Reading and Discussion on the Attitudes of Fifth Graders Toward American Indians" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1965), p. 108.

[15] An early study conducted by Evalene Jackson, as a graduate student at Columbia University, indicated that reading materials can influence white children's attitudes toward blacks. Jackson examined the attitudes of two groups of white junior high school students in Atlanta, Georgia. The groups were matched on the basis of sex, intelligence, and socioeconomic status, but only one group was exposed to reading materials which portrayed blacks in a positive way. Results of the experiment indicated that the attitudes of the group reading positive materials became significantly more favorable. Evalene Jackson, "Effects of Reading Upon Attitudes Toward the Negro Race," *Library Quarterly*, vol. 14 (January 1944), pp. 52–53.

[16] Research by Kathy Seric Thompson, Patricia Friedlander, and Stuart Oskamp of the Claremont Graduate School provides further support for the hypothesis that white children's attitudes toward minority groups are affected by reading textbooks. Thompson attempted to modify the negative racial attitudes of a group of white, middle-class preschool children through an experimental reading program. The program consisted of reading storybooks that presented minority figures in a favorable light. The results indicated a significant reversal from a low to a high percentage of positive adjectives that the children associated with minority figures. Thompson concluded that negative racial attitudes can be transformed into positive attitudes through exposure to reading materials with positive portrayals of minority characters. Kathy Seric Thompson, Patricia Friedlander, and Stuart Oskamp, "Change in Racial Attitudes of Preschool Children Through an Experimental Reading Program" (paper presented at the Western Psychological Association meeting, Vancouver, June 1969), p. 4.

[17] Rodney W. Roth, "The Effects of 'Black Studies' on Negro Fifth Grade Students," *Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 38 (Fall 1969), pp. 435–39.

[18] Roth's "black studies" curriculum included "materials which presented Negroes and information about Negro contributions of the present and past" in the social studies curriculum. Ibid., p. 435.

[19] Ibid., p. 436.

[20] Kalil I. Gezi and Barbara Johnson, "Enhancing Racial Attitudes Through the Study of Black Heritage," *Childhood Education*, vol. 46 (April 1970), p. 399.

[21] John P. Georgeoff, "The Effect of the Curriculum Upon the Self-concept of Children in Racially Integrated Fourth Grade Classrooms" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C.: 1968), pp. 7–8.

[22] Aileen Pace Nilsen, "Sexism in Children's Books and Elementary Classroom Materials," in *Sexism and Language*, ed. Aileen Pace Nilsen, Haig Bosmajian, H. Lee Gershuny, and Julia P. Stanley (Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1977), p. 162. Nilsen acknowledges Susan Jenkins' research work in correcting the data on which her chapter is based.

[23] Aileen Nilsen provides the following example from this reading program:

> After pupils have learned all the consonants and taken part in many "fun" activities centered around each letter, the vowels are introduced. . . ."No, no," they cried, "it can't be true! Not with so much work to do. Can that be a girl we see? We didn't know it would be a she!" Some of the boys just sulked and pouted, but others were very angry and shouted, "A girl! A girl! Oh, go away; A girl's no good for work or play." (Alpha One, p. 281)
>
> The stereotype that girls have health problems is overworked in this series as shown by the sneezing Little Miss A and the weak Little Miss

varying amounts of time: one group used the materials throughout kindergarten and first grade; a second group used the materials intermittently; and a third group did not use the materials at all. Jenkins found that the longer the children were exposed to the program, the more their attitudes became sex-role stereotyped, and the more these attitudes were retained over time.[24] Since textbook series are commonly used for many years throughout a child's schooling, these findings underscore the great importance of textbook contents in affecting children's attitudes.

Personality Development and Behavior

Textbooks provide children with information that broadens their scope of knowledge and allows them to experience, test, and solve problems arising in their own lives. At the same time that a pupil is learning social studies, mathematics, and reading, textbooks are influencing the child's self-esteem, values, aspirations, and fears. The degree to which textbooks influence a child's sense of self-worth is largely determined by the extent to which that child identifies with the characters and situations and becomes emotionally involved with them. Sara Zimet, director of the Reading Research Project and professor of psychiatry at the University of Colorado Medical Center, analyzes the process as follows:

> The socializing effect of reading may be explained in terms of the processes of identification and ego development. Identification is the process that leads the individual to mold his own behavior after one whom he has taken as a model. The individual endeavors to think, feel, or behave as though the characteristics of another person or group of people belong to him. . . .
>
> The degree of congruence the story has with his perceptions of reality will facilitate this integration and determine the extent to which his ego boundaries are expanded.[25]

Alvin Poussaint, M.D., a Harvard University psychiatrist, has conducted extensive interviews and analyses of students to test the hypothesis that the omission of characters and settings with which minority and female children can identify may inhibit personality growth they might otherwise experience.[26] Poussaint found that the "pattern of teaching white supremacy"[27] in the social studies curriculum was identified by minority students as a major contributor to feelings of insecurity and racial inferiority. In Poussaint's report, a Mexican American student stated it this way:

> I remember phrases from my history book like, "Santa Anna knew that he was dealing with a superior class of men." It is phrases like that, that stay in my mind, they stay on the surface, but they keep drilling this junk in your heads until it gets to your subconscious. . .what am I—inferior or something?[28]

The stereotyping of minorities in textbooks and their absence in positive roles frustrates minority students, Poussaint says: "How is a minority student to feel a positive sense of self when 'colored' people are constantly negated and only whiteness legitimized?"[29]

The outcome of children's internalizations of textbook stereotyping varies, depending on numerous influences in their personality development, but research indicates that for minority children a pattern of disliking school and nonachievement in academics is most common. Poussaint described the process as follows:

> Frequently, such internal feelings may lead to an overwhelming discomfort which then results in a student's withdrawal and truancy. Other youngsters may develop an attitude of "what's the use" or feel that they don't have a "right" to success. Still others adopt an attitude of hostility and defiance against a system that appears to despise them.[30]

Girls, too, have been found to be influenced by textbooks that lack adequate female role models. Lenore Weitzman, a sociologist, has found that sex roles, transmitted to children through readers, have

E, who are followed by Little Miss I, who itches all the time and Little Miss O, whose "throat hurt so that off to the doctor she had to go," Little Miss Y is a dainty and delicate creature who must hide behind her umbrella all the time because "I'm terribly afraid, you see, the sun is really after me!" (pp. 282–83). The consonant boy characters have entirely different personalities. They play a dominant leadership roles, quite literally putting the girls in their places. Ibid., pp. 166–67.

[24] Ibid., p. 162.

[25] Sara Goodman Zimet, *What Children Read in School: Critical Analysis of Primary Reading Textbooks* (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1972), pp. 116–17.

[26] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *What Students Perceive*, introduction by Alvin Poussaint, M.D. (Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse Publication no. 24, 1970).

[27] Ibid., p. 10.

[28] Ibid., pp. 10–11.

[29] Ibid., p. 11.

[30] Ibid.

the effect of "training [girls] for a dependent passive role."[31]

Academic Achievement

The "latent contents"[32] of reading, social studies, and other textbooks have been found to influence a wide range of factors related to children's academic achievement in school. For example, children's acquisition and maintenance of reading skills, their understanding and retention of subject matter, and their motivation and success in problem solving abilities are related to nonacademic aspects of textbook content.

Research has shown that children learn to read more easily and quickly when they can identify with the characters and events presented in their primary readers. A study by Gertrude Whipple, assistant director of the Detroit Public Schools language education department, analyzed the effects of various reading materials on first graders' reading skills.[33] Two types of readers, one that featured multiethnic neighborhoods and another with unintegrated white characters and settings, were used by black and white inner-city[34] children. Twelve classes of either all-black, all-white, or integrated students used one reader for 30 days, were tested, switched to the other reader, and were retested. The tests examined students' word recognition,[35] oral reading,[36] and interest.[37]

Whipple found that the children who read the multiethnic readers performed better on the word recognition and oral reading tests.[38] And for interest appeal, the multiethnic textbook was chosen over the all-white textbook by 76 percent of the pupils.[39] Whipple argued that the interest appeal of textbooks is important in that it correlates closely with children's academic achievement:

> The child's interest in what he is reading has a strong influence upon his comprehension and word recognition. Enjoyment of a story tempts the reader to project himself into it, to anticipate the ideas to come, and to use context clues in identifying unfamiliar words. Lack of interest, on the other hand, results in listless, perfunctory reading and a willingness to substitute words that do not make sense.[40]

While the overall percentages showed that children of all groups preferred the multiethnic readers, blacks and boys recorded the highest levels of interest in these texts. Over 80 percent of the boys in the all-white and all-black classes chose the multiethnic over the all-white series.[41] Achievement benefits that these groups displayed in word recognition and oral reading skills, respectively, further reflected the importance of reading preference on reading achievement.

Similar racially diverse reading textbooks have enhanced reading achievement in experiments with minority and white girls and boys. In discussing methods for improving American Indians' reading achievement, H.L. Narang, professor of education at the University of Saskatchewan, contended that the relevance of the content and the interest appeal of textbooks are determining factors in children's motivation and reading achievement. Narang concluded, "The curriculum content should be revised so as to include the cultural heritage of the Indians."[42]

Multicultural social studies textbooks have also been proven effective in increasing children's achievement. Under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, Albert Yee and Marvin Fruth, professors of education at the University of Wisconsin, investigated the effects of including black studies[43] in the social studies curriculum on predominantly black

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[31] Lenore Weitzman, Deborah Eifler, Elizabeth Hokada, and Catherine Ross, "Sex-Role Socialization in Picture Books for Pre-school Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 77 (1972), p. 1134.

[32] The phrase "latent contents" of curricular materials refers to omissions and stereotypes of minorities and females as discussed in chapter 2 of this report.

[33] Gertrude Whipple, *Appraisal of the City Schools Reading Program* (Detroit: Public Schools, Language Education Department, 1963), p. 3.

[34] The sample of 12 classes from different inner-city schools consisted of: 4 all-white clases, 4 all-black classes, and 4 racially mixed classes. Further tests of the children's "reading-readiness," scholastic aptitude and intelligence, and socioeconomic levels were considered in analyzing the results of the students in the sample. Ibid., pp. 3–6.

[35] The word recognition tests were designed by Whipple and were similar to a common test design familiar to the children. The three-part test had a multiple-choice format: a tester pronounced a word that each child was asked to identify from a list of four words. Scores were tallied for the children's performance after reading each textbook series. Ibid., p. 8.

[36] To measure the oral reading skills of the students, a tester rated the children on their accuracy in reading brief stories. The stories used each of the 28 new words, were 50 words long, and were designed with attention to consistency of sentence structure, length and interest appeal. Ibid., pp. 11–12.

[37] Whipple defined the interest appeal of a story as an "intangible quality" composed of factors including the attraction of stories for rereading. This study measured children's preferred illustrations, stories and series. Ibid., p. 17.

[38] Ibid., p. 16.

[39] Ibid., p. 20.

[40] Ibid., p. 11.

[41] Ibid., p. 21.

[42] H.L. Narang, "Improving Reading Ability of Indian Children," *Elementary English*, vol. 51 (February 1974), p. 191.

[43] Under the supervision of historians and curriculum experts, teachers and administrators developed a social studies curriculum that included "the black man's contribution to American history" and integrated "the black experience into the major concepts of American history." Albert H. Yee and Marvin J. Fruth, "Do Black Studies Make a Difference in Ghetto Children's Achievement and Attitudes?" *Journal of Negro Education*, vol.

elementary school children's understanding and retention of the social studies curriculum. The sample of 50 classes, representative of inner-city schools throughout the United States,[44] was divided into two groups. The groups were statistically identical except that one group used the black studies curriculum and the other did not.[45] Yee and Fruth found that students who were given the black studies curriculum made significantly higher achievement scores than pupils who did not use these materials. Yee and Fruth were particularly impressed with the performance of the boys, who progressed "unusually well and expressed motivation and interest during the studies that were not typical of their normal school behavior."[46]

The effectiveness of sex-fair curricular materials has also been demonstrated by Sheila Tobias, founder and director of the "Overcoming Math Anxiety" centers. Since 1976 Tobias has developed a variety of strategies and conducted workshops and clinics throughout the United States. Math anxiety resource centers to reduce females' "mental blocks" against mathematics have been established in every State. The anxiety treatment focuses on making people aware of the sources of their anxiety. For females, it is a process of identifying and understanding common aspects of their sex role socialization.[47] Tobias then introduces mathematical concepts and practical problems (e.g., "spacial visualization," fractions, sets, word problems, algebra, geometry, and calculus) that are free from biased or intimidating jargon. Tobias and sociologist Lucy Sells have found that through the use of this supplementary curriculum, women can overcome many of the psychological and achievement barriers that "filter" them out of work in technical fields.[48]

Studies have demonstrated a strong correlation between interest in problem content and academic performance. One study, done by G.A. Milton in 1959, has indicated that the more children appreciate and identify with problem content, the better they score on standardized tests.[49] These general conclusions regarding the importance of children's interest and appreciation of textbook contents in determining their academic achievement have implications for the problem solving performance of racial and ethnic minorities.

Career Aspirations and Attainment

The preparation that children receive from their schoolbooks is also reported to affect their career interest, expectations, and achievements. A study by Barbara Sandberg and Mary Alice White, of Columbia University Teachers College, demonstrated the effects of sex-role biases in teaching materials on children's occupational interests.[50] Seventy-five 5th and 6th grade boys and girls were assigned to one of two groups. Each group was given descriptions and pictorial representations of various occupations, the only difference being the sex of the model portraying the occupation. On measures of children's own interest in jobs, and of their perception of the importance of the jobs, boys and girls showed "greater interest in occupations portrayed by like-sexed models than opposite-sexed models."[51] Sandberg and White concluded that the "predominant use of male models in books, television and other media can limit the range of females' vocational goals."[52]

Patricia Gurin, social psychologist at the University of Michigan, and Anne Pruitt, professor of education at Case Western Reserve University, found low achievement expectations to be a crucial factor in determining black women's occupational achievement.

> Black women (along with black men and white women) do not differ significantly from white men with respect to achievement motivation, work-ethic values, and similar personal characteristics. What distinguishes them from the dominant white male majority are "motivational supply characteristics," including expectancies of success in the job market and the sense of being able to control the outcomes of their own lives.

42 (Winter 1973) p. 33. (Yee subsequently taught at California State University, Long Beach, as noted in chapter 2.)

[44] The sample included: Beloit, Wisconsin; Clarksdale, Mississippi; Milwaukee; Minneapolis; New Orleans; New York; Racine, Wisconsin; St. Louis; and Washington, D.C. Ibid., p. 34.

[45] The historians, teachers, and administrators developed a statistically reliable set of tests that were administered to the students throughout the year. Ibid.

[46] Ibid., p. 37.

[47] Sheila Tobias, *Overcoming Math Anxiety* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), p. 78.

[48] Sheila Tobias, "Math Mental Health: Key to Job Mobility," *Ms.*, vol. 8 (September 1979), p. 46.

[49] G.A. Milton, "Sex Differences in Problem Solving as a Function of Role Appropriateness of the Problem Content," *Psychological Reports*, vol. 5 (1959), p. 707.

[50] Barbara Sandberg and Mary Alice White, "The Effect of Sex-Role Modeling on Occupational Interests of Children" (paper presented at the 86th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, 1978).

[51] Ibid., p. 1.

[52] Ibid.

> . . . .Black women were no more likely than black men to aspire to advanced degrees and high-level jobs and much less likely to expect to actualize these aspirations. . . .Black women. . .have been influenced by sex-role constraints that limit their expectations. If [they] are to realize their potential for educational and occupational achievement, these constraints must be overcome.[55]

Sanford Dornbusch, professor of sociology at Stanford University, studied a sample of 2,000 students from inner-city and suburban technical schools and high schools to find out why students do or do not strive to achieve in school.[56] Dornbusch found "that the more closely the student related a subject to a future job, the more important he considered the subject."[56] After internalizing traditional sex-role stereotypes depicted in textbooks, some female students saw marriage and, to a lesser extent, careers related to the arts and humanities as their options for the future. Their relatively poor academic performance in science, mathematics, and those subjects not thought to be pertinent to their future careers reflected these expectations.[56]

Textbooks are reported to have similar long-range effects on the occupational achievement of minority males as they have on females. For many years, research has shown that minority males aspire to the same levels of achievement as white males.[57] As statistics reveal, however, minority males do not achieve these goals as often as do their white male peers.

As previously discussed, textbooks that do not present positive role models to minority boys are reported to reduce their expectations of success. In a Department of Labor conference examining problems of the school-to-work transition, Robert Green, a consultant on school desegregation and dean of the College of Urban Development at Michigan State University, underscored these inadequacies in today's education:

> Women, racial minorities, ethnic minorities, and people of low-income backgrounds have a common heritage: they are not expected to develop their potential as human beings, and they are surrounded by barriers which prevent their doing so.[58]

Summary

Children spend a substantial portion of their lives in school and at home learning social studies, reading, mathematics, and other academic subjects from textbooks. Depending on a number of factors, the "latent content" of curricular materials has been shown to affect a child's attitudes, personality development, behavior, and academic and occupational achievement. Textbooks play an especially important role in a child's life as the society's officially prescribed and endorsed transmitters of knowledge. When stereotypes and omissions of minorities and females occur in the curriculum, children's understanding of themselves and the world around them has been shown to be detrimentally affected.

Studies report that children's attitudes towards other persons' race, ethnicity, gender, social class, or age may be influenced by the "latent content" of textbooks. The longer a child uses a textbook, the greater its potential influence.

Research has shown that the development of a child's self-esteem, values, aspirations, and fears may be either assisted or inhibited by the content of textbooks. Through identification with characters and situations in textbooks, a child learns to cope with similar situations in everyday life.

Finally, measures of academic achievement are also reported to reflect the effects of textbook stereotyping on children. Nonacademic aspects of the curriculum determine children's acquisition and maintenance of reading skills, understanding and retention of subject matter, and their motivation and success in problem-solving abilities.

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[55] Patricia Gurin and Anne Pruitt, "Counseling Implications of Black Women's Market Position, Aspirations and Expectancies," in National Institute of Education, *Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Black Women, Compendium* (1978), pp. 67–68.

[56] Sanford M. Dornbusch, "To Try or Not To Try," *The Stanford Magazine*, Fall/Winter 1974, pp. 50–51.

[56] Ibid, p. 52.

[56] Ibid., p. 53.

[57] Hyman Rodman, Patricia Voydanoff, and Albert E. Lovejoy, "The Range of Aspirations: A New Approach," *Social Problems*, vol. 22 (December 1974), p. 196.

[58] U.S., Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Young Women and Employment: What We Know and Need to Know About The School-to-Work Transition*, "Problems in the Education of Women and Minorities," by Robert Green (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978), p. 44.

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